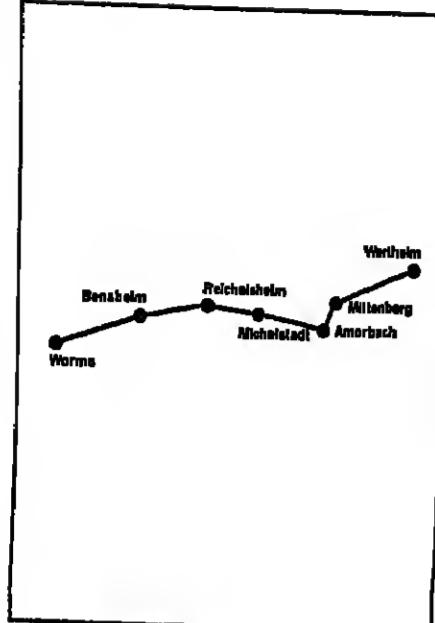


# Routes to tour in Germany

## The Nibelungen Route



German roads will get you there - to the Odenwald woods, for instance, where events in the Nibelungen saga, the medieval German hero epic, are said to have taken place. Sagas may have little basis in reality, but these woods about 30 miles south of Frankfurt could well have witnessed geley and tragedy in days gone by. In Worms, on the left bank of the Rhine, people lived 5,000 years ago. From the 5th century AD the king of Burgundy held court there, going hunting in the Odenwald.

With a little imagination you can feel yourself taken back into the past and its tales and exploits. Drive from Wertheim on the Main via Miltenberg and Amorbach to Michelstadt, with its 15th century half-timbered Rathaus. Cross the Rhine after Bensheim and take a look at the 11th to 12th century Romanesque basilica in Worms.

Visit Germany and let the Nibelungen Route be your guide.

- 1 The Hagen Monument in Worms
- 2 Miltenberg
- 3 Odenwald
- 4 Michelstadt
- 5 Wertheim

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# The German Tribune

Hamburg, 6 February 1983  
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## Bush's Bonn visit boosts Atlantic partnership

### Bremen Nachrichten

US Vice-President George Bush begins his tour of Europe it is already clear there will be neither sensational successes nor dramatic failures. His European tour of countries due to be affected by Nato missile modernisation plans (and of France, which is so important in Nato ally) was not even designed to achieve quantifiable results.

Yet Mr Bush's mission is nonetheless a milestone in the history of the Atlantic alliance, and one the Europeans are

bound to view more positively than the Americans.

He comes as an advertising executive, if it were, to salvage a joint project

launched by the Europeans, if need be

by accepting requests for amendments,

now that the principals no longer feel

the terms are ideal.

The mere fact of his visit marks a

qualitative change in the Atlantic partnership.

At one time suspicions were voiced

repeatedly that relations were one-sided, the implication being that the

governments to voice wishes for information, or changes at Nato in Brussels or by stating their own case in Washington. Now it is the Americans who have come to the Europeans, and the redistribution of weight to which this change testifies is doubtless due in part to extra-parliamentary protest.

It seems reasonable to assume that

one reason for Mr Bush's visit was to

take the wind out of the sails of protest.

A substantially more crucial point is

President Reagan's instructions in Vice-

President Bush not to negotiate but to

give European viewpoints a good hearing

that is surely not intended just to be

feted and forgotten.

If Mr Bush had to negotiate it would

denote a grave crisis in the alliance, but

there is no crisis. Instead, Nato is a

working partnership with diverging

views on a handful of individual issues.

They are no differences of opinion

on aims. No responsible European or

American (or anyone in the East Bloc, for

that matter) could regard the two-

fold zero option as anything other than

the ideal solution (and starting point for

further disarmament).

Differences exist merely on how

negotiations ought best to be conducted,

on matters of timing and on readiness

to compromise.

Vice-President Bush's European tour

is an invitation to Europeans to jointly

reappraise the Western approach to se-

curity and embark on a process of pos-

sible change.

Unimaginatively to envisage giving

the Americans a free hand would be to

miss European opportunities and to

force the United States to shoulder a re-

sponsibility it would prefer to share

with the Europeans. Peter W. Schroeder

(Bremen Nachrichten, 29 January 1983)

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US Vice-President Bush and Chancellor Kohl in Bonn

(Photo: dpa)

## Superpowers resume missile talks in Geneva

In Geneva the envoys of the superpowers are back at the conference table to resume their quest to strike a balance in their worldwide security interests.

No-one expects them to arrive at a swift solution to their negotiations despite all the appeals for peace, the fear of missiles and the use of the term "zero option" as little short of a magic spell.

In Western Europe and the United States the missile modernisation option is unpopular. But if the West were to dispense with missile modernisation it would be leaving the Soviet Union well in the lead in this arms sector.

This is something America will not allow to happen. The United States is

not going to leave the Europeans to their fate with their strictly limited nuclear weaponry.

So advocating zero options of one kind or another can only be an ongoing political appeal to the superpowers to strike a security balance at as low a level as possible.

What this means is that the Russians will not be able to avoid scrapping or withdrawing some of their SS-20s, while Nato will have to embark on missile modernisation to some extent.

There are signs that both sides in Geneva are well aware this is the case. There are said to be papers going the rounds that were drawn up at previous rounds of US-Soviet disarmament talks.

But these working papers are reportedly not yet to have met with official approval by the US and Soviet governments.

Given the different kinds of weapon and delivery system in East and West, arriving at arms parity is a problem that is hard to solve in any case.

Yet neither side is willing or able to abandon the principle.

This need not make the situation hopeless. In the past America and Russia have reached agreement on strategic arms limitation, so they are capable of coming to terms.

Partial successes in Geneva will depend in the final analysis in part on a uniform and firm stand being taken by the Nato states.

As long as the Kremlin can hope by means of massive propaganda to persuade the Germans or other members of the North Atlantic pact to dispense with a military counterpart entirely, it will not have much to offer at the Geneva conference table. Richard Mundt (Nordwest Zeitung, 27 January 1983)



En route for Geneva and missile talks with the Soviet Union US disarmament negotiator Paul Nitze stopped over in Bonn for talks with Chancellor Kohl, Defence Minister Wörner and SPD disarmament expert Egon Bahr. He is here welcomed by Defence Minister Manfred Wörner (right). (Photo: dpa)

## ■ EUROMISSILES

# Balance of power cannot disregard the French nuclear potential

Even experienced diplomats at the Bonn Foreign Office were taken aback by the forthright way in which President Mitterrand in his Bundestag speech ruled out the mere possibility of France's arms potential being taken into consideration by the superpowers at arms control talks.

They were not expecting a Socialist head of state, even a French one, to state an admittedly traditional French viewpoint so bluntly that German Social Democrats, in the middle of a general election campaign, could hardly fail to feel speechless.

The Social Democrats may, incidentally, feel annoyed, but they are not really upset. The French security concept was well-known, and the motives behind stating it so clearly at this stage seem straight up-and-down.

On the face of it, the present Bonn government was gratified by M. Mitterrand's speech. His refusal to allow French medium-range missiles to be taken into account by Soviet and US negotiators in Geneva is grist to the mill of current Bonn arms control policy.

Counting the 162 British and French medium-range missiles against comparable Soviet missiles is to construct an artificial parity suited to Soviet requirements.

Ludwig Riehl, state secretary at the Bonn Defence Ministry, sees only one Soviet objective: "to decouple the security of Western Europe from that of North America."

All attempts to envisage the view-

## SONNTAGS BLATT

paint of political adversaries are slipped in the bud by arguing that a Soviet monopoly in the intermediate-range sector cannot be accepted.

A Soviet monopoly of medium-range missiles, on the other hand, could only occur on the basis of the zero option as currently defined by Nato.

Political circles in Bonn, mainly in the SPD, share understanding for this subjective Soviet viewpoint.

A zero option as here outlined is not exactly in the French interest, let it be said.

Convinced on the quiet of the vulnerability of its own nuclear shield, France counts on a massive missile build-up to its east in the Federal Republic of Germany.

France decided to set up a nuclear force of its own so as not to have to rely entirely on US guarantees of protection. Yet whenever there is felt to be the slightest sign that the Germans might seek to avoid this protection the French reaction is hectic.

French fears then lead to such gruff refusals as M. Mitterrand's in Bonn.

The Christian Democratic-led Bonn government makes an outward show of fully agreeing with the French viewpoint, but full agreement will probably only be felt by the CSU in Bavaria.

Herr Strauss, the CSU leader, has been scathing about the zero option. His aim is to bring about a minimum of missile modernisation.

At the Foreign Office in Bonn, on the other hand, there is a growing realisation that a balance of power in Europe cannot be struck without the French

limited role to be played by French nuclear weapons.

It is far from difficult to imagine that the Soviet Union is bound to feel French nuclear missiles are aimed at Russia too.

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(and British) medium-range missiles.

Social Democrats complain of a lack of enthusiasm and disenchantment on the eve of the general election. The campaigners are lethargic, and the public is thinking forced smirks tend to petrify into a sense of apathy, while the general feeling among the public is: if only it were all done with!

For this reason alone it is an absurd idea to want to simply look at the French missiles.

The political consequence of such assessment would have been a comedy more than must people can take.

The disenchantment is understandable. The past few months have eroded credibility of the political parties

and the people they elect keeps winking.

To make matters worse, there are constant insults to the public's intelligence and its sense of decency.

As to decency, in 1972 it was Willy Brandt who claimed he and the SPD represented all that was decent in Germany. This year, it is CDU general secretary Helmut Kohl who claims this virtue.

The truth is, of course, that it is those who expect the voter to swallow such nonsense who lack decency.

That is something on which French are very keen. They expect to ease their economic problems by more intensive arms cooperation with the French.

Deeper insights might argue possible if Bonn in return were to turn to more intensive arms cooperation with the French.

The truth is, of course, that it is those who expect the voter to swallow such nonsense who lack decency.

Loss of credibility and authority has been in evidence for years, ever since the problems became trickier and the stakes of interests steeper.

Political parties' policy makers have become more expert in coping with the problems. As a result, many who have been voted in keep using their own tools in a merry-go-round of party propaganda.

With due consideration for friends and neighbours Bonn is bound to

The executive bodies of the parties

after its own interests in the interest that people have become more

foresores with the United States demanding, both in material and intellectual terms.

Sten Manner: They are no longer prepared to swallow everything that is dished out to them, yet it is nevertheless the laudable who dominate the scene.

The foot that the public now increasingly thinks before casting its ballot is denuded by the growing number of voters without preconceived ideas on which party to vote for. They vote on

A prudent and responsible position. Yet the politicians are heedless of the twists, which are slowly heading towards the main.

The conservatives, for instance, will likely add a shot of anti-communism to their campaign, acting as if the Soviet Union could be forced to fail.

Herr Vogel promises much more than he can deliver. The missile debate, perhaps, bound to form part of the campaign, is dominated by anti-Americanism that keeps sneaking into their

Examples can be found everywhere: from campaign exposure and world greater profit from a quiet existence. Years of socialism are of negotiations and a realistic approach, say the conservatives, as if the best results that are still years had been achieved.

The Social Democrats, on the other hand, talk of Taking from the Poor to the Rich, as if social disaster and hardship were just around the corner.

One could, of course, disregard all realising that campaigners, like

set players, need their jokers. Besides, the legions of campaigners need something to stir the embers. Even the best of clichés will do.

Yet there is the positive fact that the number of card-carrying members of

political parties has grown conspicuously, especially in the CDU.

All studies which THE GERMAN TRIBUNE published in cooperation with the editorial department of the Federal Republic of Germany show that the membership of the Christian Democratic party has more than doubled in the past ten years and now stands at 700,000. The SPD, a typical membership

party, has also grown markedly and

If nobody were to get a viable majority in Bonn, the conservatives would be hamstrung despite their relative majority while the Social Democrats would have to engage in tedious negotiations with the Greens to arrive at some common political ground.

What would happen then? In the last

## ■ GENERAL ELECTION

# Voters undecided except in disenchantment

now has about one million members. Only the FDP has had its ups and downs here.

In any event, this is a positive development. The other side of the coin is growing political incest, with slogans and clichés tending to lead a life of their own and obsession with one's own cause coupled with growing blindness for the cause of others.

Everybody wants to put his own stamp on this, needing this as a sort of reassurance of his own position.

But democratic consensus ends when there is no longer any willingness to now and then put the other fellow's back. Yet the other fellow represents the other half of the population.

It would seem almost superfluous to talk of the Greens as well. What they have had to say about the main problems of the next five or ten years is so asinine as to make one wonder, how otherwise likeable people can come up with this sort of thing.

As one of the delegates to a recent Green congress put it: "What a lot of half-baked rubbish."

Only the Social Democrats seem to have a fair wind at the moment. In fact, many of them are probably rather glad about their party being rid of government responsibility for the moment.

This makes it easier to forget the years of functionalism, in some cases directed against their own government.

Shadow Chancellor Hans-Joachim Vogel seems to be successful in his bid to integrate the party.

His disarmament demand and his emphasis on Green issues have mollified many of his party's left-wingers and could well capture some of the young voters who would otherwise have voted Green.

But in the inner circle of the SPD

there is also a certain concern about the party and the Greens together capturing enough Bundestag seats to elect Vogel as Chancellor.

CSU leader Franz-Josef Strauss has already warned of this possibility.

To many a top SPD man, it is quite intolerable to contemplate month-long discussions with the Greens about opting out of Nato or shutting down all nuclear power stations.

If this were to happen, the SPD could well be faced with another internal tug-of-war.

Speculation about the outcome of the election also adds to the general disenchantment. Should the conservatives win, they would be hamstrung by their unsteady coalition partner or the SPD was before them.

As things stand at the moment, it is unlikely that the conservatives will win the absolute majority.

The more likely outcome is for the SPD to gain slightly, while the fate of the FDP and the Greens remains wide open.

In any event, there is no likelihood at all that the distribution of seats will be such as to make for a strong and stable government that will have a zest for tackling problems.

Herr Strauss, who called for immediate elections after the Schmidt government was toppled, will probably be proved right.

Herr Kehl, on the other hand, opposed elections at that time because he wanted to enter the fray with the Chancellor's bonus.

But the government's image thus paled and there are already sounds of discontent coming from CSU headquarters. The new coalition doesn't look too good.

There is not much time left until the March election, and maybe it's just as well.

Hans Heigert

BRD Zeitung, 22 January 1981

## Zero option does not rule out a compromise

hook, line and sinker or to abandon the zero option once and for all.

Taking up the Soviet leader's proposal would mean accepting a massive Soviet superiority in the medium-range sector without any genuine compensation towards one's own security.

No, he is not, whatever Herr Strauss may have had in mind in making his remark. Herr Kohl's position may be laudable but it is by no means pointless.

It is in keeping with what every pacifist and peace-lover would sooner or later could be nothing more meaningful, if only it were feasible.

The Chancellor is naturally well aware that this ideal solution is beyond reach, but there are good reasons why he is not saying so out loud like Herr Strauss has done.

The alternative would be to submit a formula at Geneva based on the security policy balance that enabled both sides to feel their interests were taken into account.

Viewed realistically, only the second choice is conceivable; the first would be a capitulation to the Soviet threat.

So those who are determined to harbour illusory can but hope that an arrangement may be reached at as low a nuclear level as possible on the basis of this realistic perspective.

Besides, advocating a zero option at Geneva in no way rules out a compromise that will, in the nature of things, be arrived at behind closed doors.

A more serious point is that Chancellor Kohl has chosen to stick to too passive an attitude of loyalty to the United States and is not indicating that in all loyalty to Nato he is strongly in favour of a solution soon, and in keeping with German interests.

That is, it will do if they are prepared to scale their demands down sufficiently. In the heated debate no less an au-

thority than Helmut Schmidt has reached this sober conclusion.

So is Helmut Kohl now barking up the wrong tree on his own in loyalty, persistently advocating the meaningless zero option?

No, he is not, whatever Herr Strauss may have had in mind in making his remark. Herr Kohl's position may be laudable but it is by no means pointless.

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## First priority is stable government

Opinion surveys are any guide there will be four parties in the next Bundestag, the SPD, CDU, CSU and the Greens.

The Social Democrats are mentioned first here because the CDU and CSU, as always, stand as independent parties and their coalition has to be solemnly renewed each time.

Only once this is done are they likely to become the strongest grouping in the 10th Bundestag.

If the pollsters are right on yet another score, neither the CDU/CSU nor the SPD will have an absolute majority.

So, who will join forces with whom is a question that is more important than it might appear during the campaign.

The new election, brought about by a somewhat questionable vote of no-confidence, is to serve a purpose at all. It can only be to bring about a stable majority that will last throughout the next legislative period until 1987.

It would be disastrous if the next Bundestag were to fall apart before mid-term, as happened with the last one, and it would be paralysing if Bonn were to become as ungovernable as Hamburg was before the December state assembly elections.

If nobody were to get a viable majority in Bonn, the conservatives would be hamstrung despite their relative majority while the Social Democrats would have to engage in tedious negotiations with the Greens to arrive at some common political ground.

This is hardly political leadership. What it boils down to is a major political party's attempt to please everybody.

The fact that this rubbed the junior coalition partner the wrong way seemed

Continued on page 8

## ■ PARTY POLITICS

## Herr Vogel names his team

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

SPD Shadow Chancellor Hans-Joachim Vogel's presentation of his personal campaign crew came as no surprise because their names had been leaked to the Press several days earlier.

When he finally presented his team of 14, Press photographers on the spot felt all that was missing was the President in front of Villa Hammerschmidt, his official residence.

He would have completed the familiar picture of "Chancellor presents new Cabinet."

Vogel described his crew as a team with experience, expertise and sensitivity. He stressed that it was not to be construed as Shadow Cabinet with everybody in the group already having his portfolio assigned to him.

He also did not want this group to be understood as having any bearing on the organisation of the SPD parliamentary party in the next Bundestag.

He did, however, say that there was every possibility that one or the other of these people would later find themselves at the head of the parliamentary party.

Although Hans-Joachim Vogel went out of his way to dispel any guessing games in the bud, there are some indications as to what portfolio would go to whom should Vogel form the next Cabinet.

The team has been divided into five groups. The first (foreign affairs, defence, European policy, *Deutschlandpolitik* and the Third World) would be in the hands of Hans Apel, Egon Bahr, Horst Ehmke and Hans-Jürgen Wischniewski.

Egon Bahr as Minister of State at the Chancellor's office would deal with arms control, though there is much to indicate that he could also be put in charge of *Deutschlandpolitik*.

Hans Apel, a somewhat luckless and listless Defence Minister in the Schmidt Cabinet, would be put in charge of European policy (which is not exactly a tribute to his former work as Defence Minister).

Herr Wischniewski could be given the development aid portfolio. That leaves Horst Ehmke, who could turn his hand to just about everything.

When newsmen asked Vogel point blank what plans he had for Ehmke and someone suggested he could shoulder any job, the shadow Chancellor replied: "You've just heard the answer."

He added with a twinkle: "In any event, that would leave everything unchanged." Ehmke could take on either defence or foreign affairs.

The group labelled fiscal, economic, labour and social affairs has been assigned to economic don Professor Hans-Jürgen Krupp and ex-Ministers Manfred Lahnstein and Herbert Westphal. Here it is pretty obvious who would be given what portfolio.

The group encompassing women's, youth and family affairs, health and educational policy seems a bit understaffed. It will be in the hands of two

women: Eva Rühmkorf and Anke Fuchs.

Frau Rühmkorf, who now heads the Hamburg equal rights for women unit, would probably be assigned a similar task in a Vogel Cabinet, though not as a separate portfolio but at the Chancellor's Office.

Anke Fuchs is a former Bonn Minister of Youth, Family Affairs and Health. She would either be given her old portfolio or take over the Education Ministry. But that still leaves a gap in terms of personnel.

The next group would comprise interior, justice, housing and municipal affairs. The people earmarked here are Herta Däubler-Gmelin, who chaired the legal affairs committee of the outgoing Bundestag, Jürgen Schmude, Justice Minister under Helmut Schmidt, and Darmstadt Mayor Günther Metzger, an old associate of Vogel's when he was an SPD right-winger.

Metzger was deputy floor leader in Bonn before deciding to leave the capital for family reasons. He has been mayor of Darmstadt since May 1981 when the Greens supported him.

The last group would be in charge of the environment, research and technology, transport and the Post Office.

There are only two people to cover this sector, Volker Hauff, ex-Transport Minister with experience of the research portfolio, and non-party philosopher Klaus Meyer-Achim.

Abich is the only non-party member of the group of 14, and Vogel stresses that he wants to have this seen as politically significant. He says the SPD is a wide open and flexible when it comes to surmounting major problems.

He also wants this to be seen as an indication that "we have become more receptive to all ideas that could help us and get us ahead."

Although Willy Brandt, in an apparently jovial mood, joined the group picture, he could well have had different ideas on who should and who should not be on this team.

He would probably have liked to have had the picture rounded off by some of the former FDP people who joined his party after the break-up of the former coalition — perhaps Ingrid Matthäus-Meier.

Vogel said he had pondered his selection carefully and that his thoughts had gone in many directions. But he felt it would not be helpful to elaborate at this point.

Some Social Democrats miss such politicians as former Research Minister Andreas von Bülow and the economic affairs spokesman in the Bundestag, Wolfgang Roth, who was also deputy floor leader in the old Bundestag.

The platform urges the superpowers to arrive at a compromise in Geneva, saying: "Should the Geneva talks break down due to the uncompromising attitude of the other side."

Sten Martensen

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 25 January 1983)

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## Nazi take-over as seen from Berlin — an eye-witness account

Robert Kempner, who wrote this article, was a legal adviser on police affairs at the Prussian Interior Ministry until Hitler came to power. He emigrated to the United States, taught at several universities and served as an adviser to the US Justice and Defence Departments. He was assistant chief prosecution counsel at the Nuremberg war crimes tribunal. He has written several books about the Third Reich and now practices law.

**O**n 31 January 1933, half a century ago, I arrived at work to find I had a new boss at the Prussian Ministry of the Interior on Unter den Linden in Berlin.

The new man at the Ministry was Hermann Goering. The day before he had been appointed Minister without Portfolio in Hitler's Cabinet by President Hindenburg.

He was also entrusted with running the affairs of the Prussian Interior Ministry.

For years the Berlin police and the Prussian Interior Ministry had investigated Goering's criminal activities as a leader of the Nazi party.

The Nazis were classified as a group hostile to the state and to the Weimar Republic, as a party of high treason. As legal adviser to the police department at the Ministry I had been intimately associated with these investigations.

Bismarck once said that to control Prussia was to control the Reich, and control was now exercised by the Führer's deputy, a man intent on destroying the Weimar Republic, which he succeeded in doing.

Oddly enough, the files on the Nazis' criminal activities were kept only a few doors away from the Minister's office.

In the first week after assuming power Goering had a henchman collect

Continued from page 5

**schaftswunder**, or economic miracle, as West Germany's post-war economic recovery was dubbed, in the inter-war years even the Weimar Republic, with all its congenital shortcomings, would have worked.

On the final platform debate Carola Stern warned that post-1945 coming to terms with the past had taken place only as a process of full-scale suppression of the facts and disregard for the obligation to render account of the people concerned.

Frankfurt historian Iring Fetscher put it even more drastically. "Both German states," he said, "have in the final analysis come to terms with their past merely by adapting to their respectively protecting powers."

Eugen Gerstenmaier, a former Bundestag Speaker, sounded a note of bitterness. "In the beginning, after 1945, was not the word but the denazification certificate, and my services were much in demand as an issuing authority."

Hans Heiliger, Munich, referred to the renaissance of neo-Nazism unearthed by opinion polls of late.

"It isn't all that bad as long as democracy works," he thoughtfully noted. "But what are we going to do if the system does not prove a success over the next 10 to 15 years?"

**Otto Jörg Wels**  
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 17 January 1983)

from the police headquarters all the files on Nazi leaders.

Between 1928 and 1930 votes polled by the Nazis increased from 810,000 to 6,400,000. Nazi activities, legal and illegal, increased and grew more aggressive.

Officials at the Prussian Interior Ministry, which was responsible for safety in the Weimar Republic, were most alarmed.

Interior Ministers Albert Grzesinski and Carl Severing considered emergency measures to curb the Nazis, the SA and above all the Führer, Adolf Hitler.

The political department of the Berlin police was commissioned to make a detailed survey of the many indictable activities by Nazi officials.

It was to probe the legal status of the Nazi party and check whether it qualified as an association hostile to the state in accordance with the criminal code.

Hitler himself, many Nazi officials and the party were found to warrant prosecution on charges of indictable offences.

A memorandum on these findings was submitted by Prussian Premier Otto Braun to the Reich government, led by Chancellor Heinrich Brüning.

The Nazi party looked like being banned. But on 19 December 1930 a ban was ruled out by the government, mainly because of confidential negotiations between members of the Reich government and the Nazis.

Otto Braun and the Prussian government again approached the Reich in a bid to have the Nazis banned on 4 March 1932. In a handwritten note to Chancellor Brüning he made an impressive plea for a ban to be imposed on the basis of a Presidential emergency decree.

He appended a 236-page memorandum and further incriminating material, but the memorandum was allowed to gather dust at the Reich Chancellery and some of the material intended to be submitted to President Hindenburg was even destroyed.

Prussian never did receive a reply, yet Hitler had announced in the meantime that heads would roll once the Weimar system was eliminated.

Wilhelm Frick, Nazi floor leader in the Reichstag, had said much the same to parliament.

If the Reich government had acted on

Continued from page 3

of Ludwig Erhard's political career after 17 years of conservative government.

What was needed at that time was not only a rehabilitation of government finances and a fight against unemployment (both moderate by today's standards) but a change in relations with the East Bloc and, above all, a chance for the SPD to assume government responsibility after 17 years in opposition.

In the following 16 years, from 1966 to 1982, the SPD bore government responsibility in a variety of coalitions. It must therefore be seen as equal to the conservatives in terms of experience in government.

Never before has it therefore been so important for the voter to exercise his voting right. He must give a clear mandate to one of the big parties because any fragmentation would be disastrous.

Fritz Aschku  
(Nürnberg Nachrichten, 26 January 1983)

## RHINE-MAIN-DANUBE CANAL

### 'Missing link' valley is in canal's favour

first to Franz von Papen, then to

Diels became a confidant of

Goering's sister-in-law.

Early in February 1933 Goering

trusted him with compiling

list of

opponents of the regime in

an uprising.

They were mainly to include

Democrats, left-wing Centre and

Burgomaster Josef Schneider's offi-

cials, Communists and

the three o'clock news leads with

the latest success story of the protest

movement to abandon the Rhine-Main-

Danube Canal project.

Goering relayed names to

the Nazis and the SA, as Die Linke

Canal project.

It had lost votes heavily in the

December 1932 general election.

The Nazi party would have been

baunted. It had lost votes heavily in the

December 1932 general election.

Hitler could have stood trial on charges of high treason and perjury and been deported as an unwanted alien.

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The political department of the Berlin police was commissioned to make a detailed survey of the many indictable

activities by Nazi officials.

It was to probe the legal status of the Nazi party and check whether it qualified as an association hostile to the state in accordance with the criminal code.

Goering's arrival meant the begin-

ning of a system of terror all over Prussia, which made up two thirds of the Reich.

Only a few friends and I sensed the significance of the change. I had written in 1932 that blood justice would reign in future.

Goering was a fast worker. In Hitler's 12-man Cabinet only he and Frick were Nazis, so he was determined to gain control of the Prussian machinery of power without delay.

He called a meeting of senior officials, about 40, and told us we could work loyally alongside him. When I got back to my office there was a note asking me to contact the personnel officer.

I and 12 others were suspended from duty from mid-February.

Goering's new head of the police department was Ludwig Gruener, an SS friend of his who went on in 1935 to become an SS brigade commander.

His predecessor, Erich Klausener, a leading Roman Catholic layman and a key Prussian civil servant, was soon sacked; on 30 June 1934 he was murdered.

I conducted a detailed investigation into his murder at Nuremberg.

On the same day as my suspension from duty was published in the Press from duty was published in the Press

newspapers carried reports of the appointment of Rudolf Diels, a fellow-Ministry official, as head of a new Gestapo department.

Diels was a decided adventurer, high-

ly intelligent but quick to change his convictions. He gradually switched allegiance from his patron, the former democratic state secretary Wilhelm Abegg.

He appended a 236-page memoran-

dum and further incriminating material,

but the memorandum was allowed to

gather dust at the Reich Chancellery and some of the material intended to be submitted to President Hindenburg was even destroyed.

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If the Reich government had acted on

Continued from page 5

for the nation's two major political par-

ties to agree on a joint programme.

If both lay claim to being popular

parties and thus not wanting to hurt any

segment of the public their programme

must become an ambiguous medley.

If, on the other hand, they want to set

genuine political accents, be it in a

drive to reduce unemployment or to

make a German contribution to interna-

tional disarmament, there is no ground

on which they can meet.

But by the same token there is also

no common ground with the Greens on

those two major issues.

Never before has it therefore been so

important for the voter to exercise his

voting right. He must give a clear man-

date to one of the big parties because

any fragmentation would be disastrous.

Fritz Aschku

(Nürnberg Nachrichten, 26 January 1983)

Continued from page 3

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## ■ MEDIA

## Authorities bowled over by video porn threat to the young

As far back as last summer Anke Fuchs, then Minister of Health, Youth and Family Affairs, wanted to have the 1957 Youth Protection Act amended to suit today's conditions.

At that time, her main concern was the growth of alcoholism among young people. The video cassette era was not yet in full swing.

But things have changed since then and a flood of horror, smut and violence on videotape has hit the market.

Though something must be done in a hurry, the March general election makes it impossible to take any legislative action pending the outcome.

The victims of this delay are not only the children and juveniles exposed to this tide but also the law enforcement agencies whose everyday work is hampered by inadequate and vague legislation.

Children and juveniles can be seen ogling the naked body of "Super-Hot Doris" in cinema showcases on railway stations, becoming so engrossed as to miss their commuter train.

The youngsters wage laser wars on video game machines, having fed them their pocket money.

They have easy access to various porn magazines and the video "treasures" of horror, porn and violence are available to them for a rental fee of DM 1 a reel, which they can take home and play on TV.

The fierce tug-of-war over market shares in video sets, primarily between Japan and Germany, has naturally stimulated the software business in the form of cassettes," says Edward Tack of the Bonn Family Affairs Ministry.

He claims to have counted as many as 40 video magazines at a single newsstand. No wonder the police are overtaxed. Films from all parts of the world are put on videotape, and the vounted self-control is a farce.

Comments Tack: "Advertisements of the various companies boast that their videotapes show the complete film, including the footage cut out by the voluntary self-control of the film industry."

And there is no such thing as self-control for videotape makers, at least none that can lay claim to being more than just an attempt to get the better of the public prosecutor.

The German Video Institute in Berlin

is supposed to present detailed control proposals by the end of the year. But this would not nullify the existing criminal code provisions although some sections are outdated.

Rudolf Stefen, who heads the Federal Supervision Agency for Literature Endangering Youth, is sceptical.

How are police officers to enforce a regulation of which they don't know whether it will be in effect tomorrow? The very announcement of an impending change must of necessity make them insecure, says Stefen.

"Police officers are also made insecure by wishy-washy formulations of legal provisions," says Public Prosecutor Niederle of the Pornography Department of the Aachen Public Prosecutor's Office.

The question is, where does art end and pornography begin? At what point do pornography and violence become so dangerous as to warrant a ban?

The ban does not apply to "The Last Days of Sodom." After all, the chopped-off breasts in that film are attributable to the great Pasolini.

The youth protection laws apply to 11.7 million young people in this country, and these people certainly need legislation to protect them.

The evidence piled up on Youth Authorities' and Public Prosecutors' desks during last year's "hot summer" has meanwhile found its way to the central viewing room in Bad Godesberg for screening.

Senior government official Elke Monsen-Engberding usually makes a point of having a solid breakfast before looking at the industry's products for fear that she might later not be able to stomach food.

The Federal Supervision Agency has evaluated some 1,000 video films, most 90 minutes long, and is about to decide which of them are to be put on the Index.

Those that are indexed may no longer be advertised, sold or rented in places to which children and juveniles have access.

Hard-porn (films showing the sexual abuse of children, sex with animals or sex in conjunction with violence) is banned outright.

Like public prosecutors, who only go into action when a crime has already

been committed, the supervision agency acts only on receiving complaints.

Even so, its activities "cause a lot of harm to the porn industry," says Rudolf Stefen.

The indexing can work very swiftly when time is of the essence. Thus, for instance, the film "Caligula" was sent back to the film industry's voluntary self-control office (FSK) which was told that it could be released if an offending 10-minute footage was cut out.

Such prestigious weeklies as *Stern* and *Der Spiegel* praised the cut film at the time, regarding it as neither pornographic nor promoting violence.

But a company specially founded for the purpose, Constantin-Video, has come up with the full-length "Caligula" version, which it advertises accordingly.

So pornography and the glorification of violence are back in the video version.

The indexing application was made on 23 September 1982 and a committee of three decided to approve the application on the spot, pronouncing the temporary ban on 29 September and confirming it a short while later.

Criminal proceedings against dealers offering the uncut version are now in progress.

Ignorance by the dealer cannot be taken as an excuse because every dealer is legally obliged to read the official gazette which lists all indexed products.

Cooperation between Youth Authorities has meanwhile improved to the point where they pool their financial resources to rent and screen suspicious cassettes.

But this has so far only benefited the video industry to the tune of DM 250,000 in profits if you reckon that 20 Youth Authorities have agreed to rent 50 video films each in order to end up with about 1,000 on the Index.

Cooperation is brisk and the Prosecutor's Office in Düsseldorf has agreed to provide court rulings and expert opinions to facilitate and speed up the work of other prosecutors.

The aim is to come down like a ton of bricks on the makers of hard porn. Already-banned tapes keep showing up on the market under different names, causing an unending battle.

Posters advertise tapes, using the FSK seal of approval for products that

have never gone through any all or have in fact been banned.

Owners of video game parlors and similar establishments keep silent; they cannot tell their patrons' video retailers plead ignorance of the contents of their stock of tapes.

Prosecutors have a tough line with all this innocence, as do the Youth Authorities. A drawback is the shortage of even video sets.

And then there is the problem of some Youth Authority staff, think much about youth, and some misguided *Spiegel* readers still this violence as being with our current forms race.

Meanwhile, the tide of home consumption continues, this country's two million houses must be kept supplied with shelter.

But is it the dealer's fault if the tapes are in greatest demand if his customers insist on such "Eaten Alive," "The Night of the Gods," "Muneca" or "Nuns Massacred" to go with their shelter.

And as to the cinemas in the cities, the Bundesbahn's Rail

rights for women unit, a local government department.

While wish number three (to support women who are in the Bundestag) concerns only a very small number of women, this does not apply to number four.

Number four is support for jobless women and those who would like to take a job again after years of looking after the home while the woman, whose skills might be in demand at the time, earns the living?

Women would only make it easier on the politicians if they permitted themselves to be intimidated. "Women," she says, "must form a union to be able to fight injustice." She gives Horst-Jochen Vogel credit for "taking women seriously and wanting to explore new avenues regarding women's rights."

Says she about herself: "I don't intend to become a Cabinet Minister, but I won't say never. I don't think heading a Ministry is my forte. My strong point is the sort of practical work I do now."

Ulrike Drendlin (Hamburger Abendblatt, 17 January 1983)



Ingeborg Drewitz

(Photo: Sven Simon)

## Never shirks an issue

Writer Ingeborg Drewitz, 60, thinks little of today's literary rat race. She charges many of her fellow-writers with shirking the hot issues of the day and wasting their talents by being accommodating.

She blames this on a general political atmosphere that promotes opportunism. "Even supposedly independent writers find it difficult to escape this trend," she says.

Ingeborg Drewitz herself has never been a conformist. Having studied philosophy and German (she wrote her PhD on the history of ethics) she has always considered herself somebody whose job it is to say what others don't say.

Her numerous novels, essays, radio and theatre plays (in which she deals with the loneliness of city people and above all the special problems of women) hear her out.

Ingeborg Drewitz, vice-president of the German Pen Club, hit the headlines in 1981 when she joined a group of Berlin squatters to demonstrate her solidarity.

She later dealt with squatting in her latest novel, somewhat auto-biographic "Berlin report", entitled "Eis auf der Elbe" (Ice on the Elbe).

Understandably, this did not earn her sympathy in all quarters but she bore it with as much equanimity as she bore right-wing attacks following her open letters in defence of her colleagues Peter O. Chotjewitz and Peter Paul Zahl.

The co-founder of the German Writers' Association had enough fortitude to shrug this off as she shrugged off the accusation of "nest-soiling" after the premiere of her 1955 concentration camp drama *Alle Tore waren bewacht* (All Doors were Guarded).

But attacks from the left were almost as ferocious as those from the right.

An idealist like the heroine of her novel *gestern war heute* (Yesterday was Today), she regards socialism as a necessary corrective element.

Her courage and her non-conformism along with her social involvement (as in her prison work) have earned Ingeborg Drewitz such coveted awards as the Ernst Reuter Prize, the Carl von Ossietzky Medal, the Gerrit Engelke Prize and an honorary professorship.

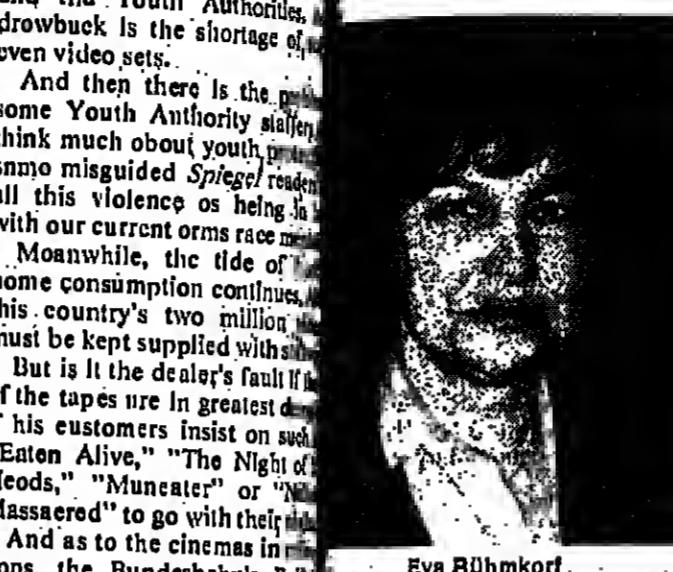
Her unyielding fortitude and her talent have earned her the respect of her colleagues.

Wolfgang Platzeck

(Westdeutsche Allgemeine, 10 January 1983)

## PEOPLE

### Sexual equality expert named as Vogel aide



Eva Rühmkorf

(Photo: dpa)

SPD Shadow Chancellor Hans-Joachim Vogel has drafted Eva Rühmkorf, 47, head of the Hamburg equal rights for women unit, into his team of railway shops what kind of

When he phoned me," she says, "I asked him whether I would be the only woman on the team." She didn't worry; she won't.

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## ■ THE ARTS

## Kipphardt's Eichmann play premiered in Munich

After attending Eichmann's trial in Jerusalem Hannah Arendt referred to the banality of evil.

This banality is what Helmar Kipphardt deals with in his play *Bruder Eichmann* (Brother Eichmann), directed by Dieter Giesing at the Residenztheater, Munich.

Adolf Eichmann was the Nazi civil servant largely responsible for organizing the "final solution" of the Jewish problem for Hitler and Himmler.

Eichmann was hanged in 1962. Kipphardt, a documentary playwright (his best-known play is probably *The J. Robert Oppenheimer Case*), died last November.

His last, posthumous play is definitely his most consistent in its documentary character. It is based on authentic conversations between Eichmann and an Israeli police officer, Avner Less.

In the Munich production Eichmann is played by Hans-Michael Rehberg, Less by Horst Schleben.

The interviews took place during Eichmann's 19 months in custody to Israel, ending when he was hanged on 31 May 1962.

Transcripts of the tape recordings show the man who organised the transport to ship millions of Jews to concentration camp and the gas chamber to have been anything but a monster with bloodstained hands.

He was a decidedly normal person who protested that he had never, never had anything to do with killing and merely carried out orders given to him by his superiors.

The discrepancy between the individual, his life story and the excuses he made for the stupendous crimes against humanity for which he was responsible inasmuch as he coordinated the logistics is grotesque.

It appears so grotesque, so banal and so dreadful that Kipphardt felt it was appropriate to entitle his play *Brother Eichmann*.

The point of this disturbing, thought-provoking title is to remind us all that the head of the Jewish affairs department at the *Raichsicherheitshauptamt* of the SS was, as a person, no different from you or me.

The message is that there is an Eichmann in all of us, someone who is prepared to do the dirty work (as long as it is merely a matter of "organising" it) provided he is reassured it is all in a good cause.

Eichmann seems in all seriousness and with clear conscience to have felt himself to be a mere victim of a state he had served honestly and diligently.

He was a young man from a middle-class Protestant home. He had not been entirely successful either at school or at work.

"But he was completely unpolitical and joined the SS more by coincidence and for the camaraderie than by design. He transferred to the *Sicherheitsdienst*, or security service, under a misapprehension."

He had imagined it was some kind of bodyguard service for high-ranking officials and state visitors.

When confronted with what went on at concentration camps he had a sinking feeling in the pit of his stomach ("I can't stand the sight of blood") yet kept on organising it as though it were the

most straightforward office work in the world.

For Eichmann mass destruction was just pea pushing. He saw himself as a white-collar worker, not a killer.

Kipphardt spent 15 years working on the play, sifting through the countless transcripts and making his choice of material.

He interspersed the conversations between Eichmann and Less with scenes designed to demonstrate the general validity and ever-present danger of his subject.

Dieter Giesing, the Munich director, stages the conversations in a cool, calm and collected manner. Eichmann is not portrayed as a prisoner behind bars.

At the front of the stage there are a table and two chairs, plus a tape recorder. On the right there is a washbasin where Eichmann spruces himself up now and again.

Hans-Michael Rehberg plays Eichmann as though he were a part like any other. He eagerly tells his tale, only occasionally betraying the slightest emotion, just as he is said to have behaved in the dock.

The banality of evil could hardly have been portrayed more tellingly. The part is a first-rate feat of memory and a distinguished acting performance given the emotion-laden nature of the subject.

It amply bears out Rehberg's reputation as a fine actor.

Giesing made do with only a handful of the 21 interspersed scenes envisaged by Kipphardt. They included a US bomber pilot in Vietnam, dourly obeying orders without so much as a pang of conscience.

Another scene showed an alleged woman terrorist in Italy being tortured. But even these few atrocity scenes were too many. The director would have done better to cut them out.

These references to the present day were like foreign bodies included for effect, especially Charles Brauer's sparkling display of Turkish jokes, intended no doubt to imply that the Turks are today's Jews.

After the interval Eichmann is seen talking with others, including a Canadian Protestant clergymen and his wife, played by Charles Brauer and Gundl Ellert, who are keen to save his soul. We also see Frau Eichmann, played by Ruth Drexel, who is still proud of her husband and convinced he will leave the court a free man. In the last conversation she makes it clear that Eichmann was a first-rate husband and father. But the second part of the play involved nothing more substantial. It made a more theatrical impression than the deliberately cool and level-headed stock-taking of the first act. It played on West Berlin

(Photo: dpa)

sentimentality and prompted only modest applause. The first hour and a half, in contrast, shocked and embarrassed the audience so much that some left for home at the interval. They were exhausted and evidently felt that was the end of the play.

Hans-Michael Rehberg as Eichmann (right) and Henning Laban as Avner Less in Kipphardt's documentary play

(Photo: H. Lehmann  
(Kiefer Nachrichten,  
25 January 1983)

(Photo: H. Lehmann  
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## ■ FOREIGN RESIDENTS

**Ombudswoman backs dual nationality**

The churches and the media have long sought to promote understanding for the problems of foreigners in Germany. Yet German resentment of foreigners seems if anything to be growing.

This prompted journalists Bonn's commissioner for aliens' affairs, Liselotte Funcke (FDP), had invited for talks to express doubts about the meaningfulness of their work.

She had some consolation for them. She told them it was true there had been a time when she had received more and more letters in which citizens polemicised against foreigners.

It was conspicuous that, while previous letter writers were largely anonymous, the writers now tended to give their names. But, she said, the influx of such letters has diminished in the past six months.

But how indicative is all this? The fact is that foreigners looking for an apartment still meet with mistrust and rejection, as the commissioner learned when, accompanied by our reporter, she visited the homes of some foreigners.

One was a Greek family. The furnishing of the apartment left little to be desired. The living room was dominated by the TV set, which is customary with foreigners because television is their most important means of staying in touch while abroad.

Behind the glass door of a huge cabinet there were displays of postcards and other souvenirs of the home country. The family was clearly proud of its dishwasher, but all these treasures had to be crowded into a very limited space.

Half the room was taken up by the cabinet. A room divider separated about a quarter of the floor area, which was used as the kitchen.

Depending on the time of day, the kitchen also served as a bathroom (with the blender next to the toothbrushes).

What little room remained was taken up by a couch, a small coffee table and the TV set.

The other room (the door had been unlined and replaced by a curtain to save space) contained the bed for the family of four.

"The Greeks would be quite happy and in a position to pay more rent for a larger flat. But they have been unable to find one," said the wife. "When the landlord hears that we're foreigners, we're told that the place has already been taken."

A Turkish family living in similarly crowded quarters told us that they wanted to send their oldest son back to Turkey, where he could stay with his grandmother.

The parents themselves want to return home in the next few years to spare their children, who are approaching school age, having to grow up torn between two cultures and two languages.

The intentions of this family show how problematical the ideas of Bonn's Interior Minister Friedrich Zinnemann are. He wants to restrict the immigration of the children of foreign workers living in this country to a maximum age of six.

If this were enacted, the family would have to rethink. Having sent their eldest

boy to Turkey, they could not bring him back to Germany again.

Commissioner Funcke criticised the Minister's proposals, saying that "this would make the Federal Republic of Germany appear hostile to family life and a violator of human rights in the eyes of other countries."

She said she doubted that such legislation would reduce the influx of foreigners into Germany. Moreover, this would hamper rather than promote the integration of foreigners living here.

Since there would have to be an extended transitional period for constitutional reasons, many foreigners would bring their children to this country before the envisaged legislation comes into effect, she said.

In hardship cases, parents would in any event have to be permitted to bring their school-age children to Germany, and the dispute with the authorities that would inevitably arise in such cases would lead to a tide of court cases.

As she sees it, it would make more sense to step up efforts to integrate the foreigners who are already in this country. Many of the families visited by Liselotte Funcke told her about their vain efforts to find a kindergarten place for their children.

And since they cannot go to a kindergarten they enter school without a word of German, putting them at a disadvantage against their German schoolmates.

The second and third generation of foreigners who attended German schools for at least part of the time manage a lot better than those who came here as adults. But this also leads to conflicts between the generations.

A 20-year-old Turk, for instance, complained that, following traditions in Turkey, he was made to marry a girl picked for him by his parents at a much too early age: three years ago, when he was 17. His equally young wife backed him.

His main problem is that he will have to leave his wife and children to do a two-year stint in the Turkish army before he is 29.

This is one of the main reasons why Turkey is so reluctant to have its citizens living abroad renounce their citizenship. It needs young men for its armed forces.

Commissioner Funcke therefore suggests that foreigners wanting to take out German citizenship be permitted dual nationality.

In her concept, one of these nationalities would be dominant, with all rights and duties of a citizen, while the other would be dormant.

It would be wrong to believe that the foreigners in Germany pay little attention to Bonn's policy towards them.

They attach great importance to political representation through a commissioner.

**Friederike Hermann**  
(Deutsche Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung, 23 January 1983)

Continued from page 11:

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